

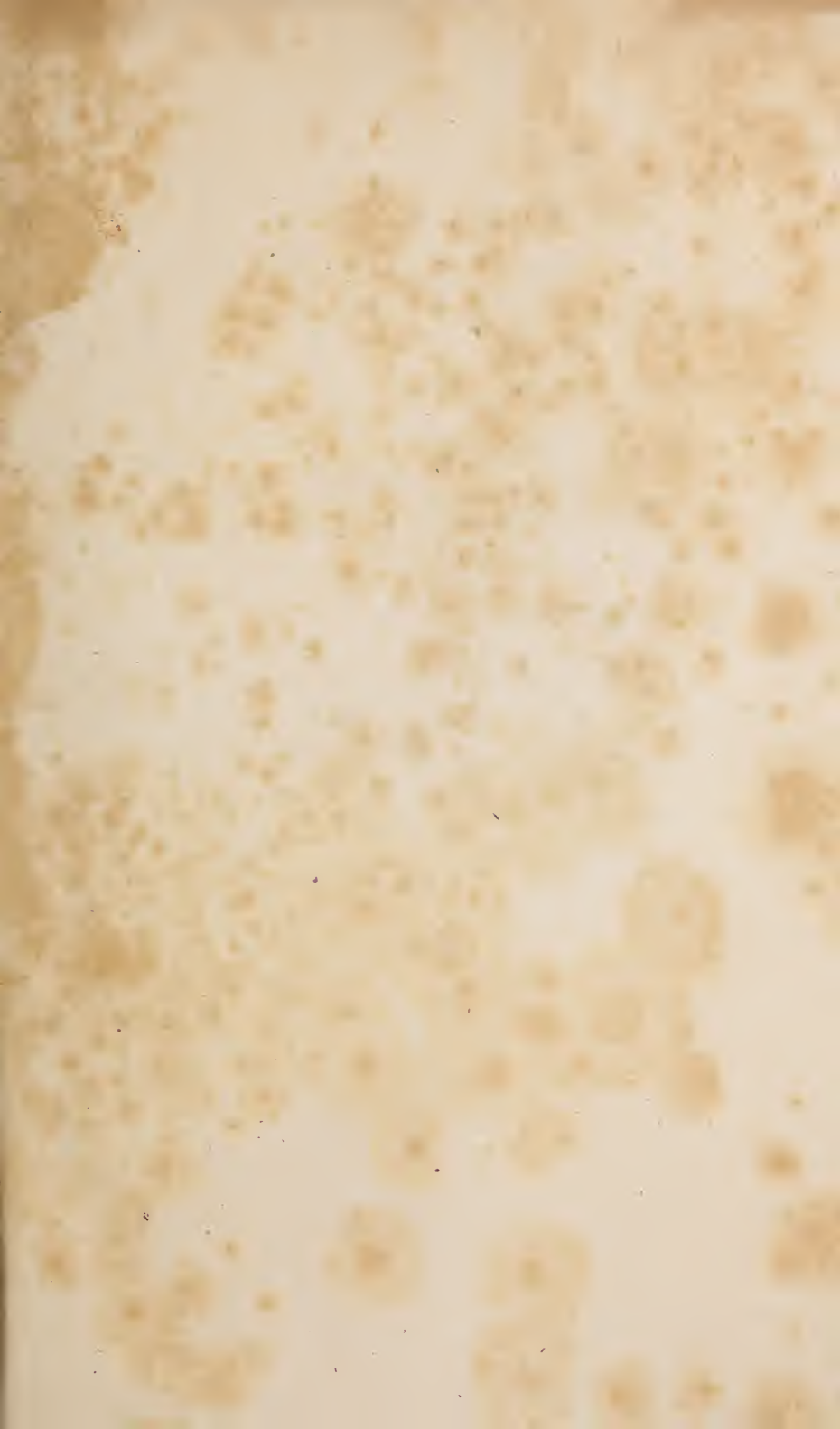


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Considerations relative to the Fourth of July.

"UNION is strength." Many things which could never be effected by *individual* agency, are of the most easy accomplishment by *combined* action. "As iron sharpeneth iron, so does the countenance of man his friend." While we labor at some *herculean* task, it is a real comfort to know that others are engaged with like motives and efforts with ourselves. In companionship there is not only real comfort, but also substantial assistance. Many a time our hearts tremble and we are ready to fall back in despair, in view of some vast work to be done. But only let us know that ten thousand others are contemplating the same work, that they are individually certified of the fact that the others are uniting with them, and what new life it would instil in our bosoms, and how would it nerve our arms with a ten-fold power! The very enthusiasm that stirs in the breast of every true American citizen on the glorious

Fourth of July, depends very much upon the fact that all over the land there are multitudes feeling the same sensations of joy and gladness, in view of the splendid political fabric which our fathers reared when they joined heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder, and marched forth through danger and death to victory and independence!

Now we need the benefit of this same sympathetic feeling to carry forward the work of colonization.

There are, for example, about *fifteen hundred Clergymen* who read our publications, and are, more or less, well informed as to the merits and achievements of the scheme of colonization; and most of whom would be willing, at some time in the course of the year, to take up a collection in aid of its funds. But the months roll by very rapidly. There are many other things claiming his attention, and nothing impresses upon him the indispensable necessity of

devoting the very next Sabbath to colonization. Very soon the year is gone, and the work is undone. Now suppose that he had read carefully the address "*To the Clergy of all Denominations*," in our last number, and on rising from the perusal of it, had by some means been convinced that every other clergyman would, on or about the Fourth of July, take up a collection for the Society, could he have resisted the influence? would it not have been morally certain that he would have gone straight out and made the necessary arrangements, and joined with the vast multitude?

Now suppose these fifteen hundred clergymen each prepare and preach a sermon on colonization, and make a collection. Each one might think that his people would give but very little. Perhaps some of them would do but little. But others would do very much. Suppose the contributions averaged only TEN DOLLARS to each church (which is undoubtedly much below the truth) and we have the handsome aggregate of \$15,000! And yet no body has felt it. The minister is not wearied with his unusual labors. The people have not given money that they could not spare. No other department of benevolence is made the poorer. But we would have raised, *without one dollar's expense*, money enough to complete the purchase of territory between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas! or to send some five or six hundred emigrants to Liberia!

In addition to these fifteen hundred clergymen, there are some twelve hundred more, who have, at one time or another, contributed to the cause by taking up collections in their churches. To many of these we have sent the *Address* above alluded to. Could they all be roused to repeat, on the approaching Fourth, their labor of love and work of benevolence, and were their collections to average only \$10 each, it would yield us \$12,000!

And if, in addition to these, the various auxiliary societies—or even a part of them, say 200—were to make an effort to collect subscriptions already due, and to interest others in the cause, and send in each a contribution to our treasury, averaging \$20, it would give us the clear gain of \$4,000!

Now look at the result. Without any excitement—without any extra exertions—without any expense—we should receive the handsome sum of THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS! What an impulse this would give to the cause! How would it animate and cheer its friends and supporters! What an incalculable amount of good it would accomplish!

We have received assurances from some of our friends that they will preach on the subject and endeavor to excite a general interest among their people. We have also been informed that large meetings are to be held in several places on the Fourth, and the exercises are all to have reference to this cause. Nothing

could be more appropriate! The objects this Society aims to accomplish, harmonize perfectly with all those great considerations which induce us as American patriots to celebrate that day which fast anchored us as a people to our free institutions! Around that day cluster associations peculiarly grand and sublime, recollections which can never be effaced from the memory: then was unfurled to the breeze, the flag of the free—the “Star spangled Banner;”—then the American Eagle expanded his pinions and winged his flight over a thousand hills, and amidst the dwellers in a thousand flowery plains! But the great work then so splendidly begun, is not yet fully accomplished. The tree of liberty is yet to be pruned of many hurtful branches. The soil of freedom has yet to be cleared of many noxious weeds. The civil institutions of republicanism are yet to be perfected! And would it be evil or extravagant in us to exclaim with the poet,

“Hope waits the morning of Celestial light;
Time plumes his wings for everlasting flight!”

We have planted on the shores of Africa a young republic, after the model of our own. They who are moulding and guiding its tender years, were taught under our own institutions, and now move and act under the impulses which here they received, and in the light we shed upon them! They have to struggle with many obstacles, and they appeal in their weakness to us for assistance.

Thousands of their race, yet in our land, taste not, and never can taste among us, the blessings of civil and political liberty. This Society proposes to remove them to a land over which freedom’s banner shall wave for them, and where the highest gifts of civilization and republicanism shall be within their reach.

Now there would seem to be something in the spirit of this enterprise which should commend it to special consideration on the anniversary of our nation’s independence. And while we rejoice in the rich gifts which Heaven has bestowed upon us as a people, it is incumbent upon us to open our hand bountifully to those deprived of these blessings.

Let us reflect for a moment how much we are indebted to the colored race. How much have they toiled for us? How many of our blessings have come to us through their daily labors? How much of our wealth have they poured into our coffers? How many of our children have been nursed by them? How much of our present prosperity is the result of their joyless and untiring industry!

And are we not a great and a happy people? Are we not an honorable nation? And do we not intend to “do justice,” if not to “love mercy!” Then are we bound to think of the colored race; of those of them who are now among us; of their country from which their ancestors were torn for our gratification! We cannot shake off this responsibility! They have a claim

upon us from which we never can shrink, without violating some of our most solemn and imperative obligations ! Where then is the patriot who can properly celebrate the "*glorious Fourth*," and not think of the less-favored among us, and of the land from which they came, and can resist the appeal made to him by the young commonwealth of Liberia to contribute something to aid her in her noble struggle for national existence and the redemption of Africa ! Better that we should be found over zealous in a cause of such vast magnitude ; better that we embrace in our benevolent contemplations not only our own country and Africa, but the whole world of mankind, and exclaim, with the intention that the streams of our benevolence shall flow as far and as wide :—

"Take, freedom, take thy radiant round,
When dimm'd, revive ; when lost, return,
'Till not a shrine through earth be found
On which thy glories shall not burn !"

May we not, therefore, fondly hope that the exertions of the *Clergy*, and of others interested in this cause, will be more general and zealous than heretofore, and that they will be attended by correspondent success ? We are greatly indebted to the Clergy for their past voluntary and unrequited labors, and their prompt and liberal aid. With no class of the American people has African colonization been a subject of more anxious solicitude, and none have rendered it more liberal or cordial support. It forms a theme peculiarly worthy of a Christian's elo-

quence ;—it vibrates in harmony with the best and noblest feelings of the human heart ; and the mind itself expands and glows while contemplating its claims and its accomplishments ! In the language of the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, "There is a moral sublimity and beauty in this enterprise that deserve the favorable consideration of every patriot and statesman. It is not only a fountain of light, that will shed its healthful beams over the degraded African tribes, but it will reflect a moral influence upon ourselves, propitious to the best hopes of freedom. It is a living monument of philanthropy that we have elevated to the vision of an admiring world, that will most happily nourish the principles and cherish the spirit of enlightened liberty ! Where, in all the earth, can there be found a nobler, grander spectacle, than that of a *benevolent society* planting on the shores of a distant continent, the germs of a future empire of redeemed, liberated captives, and directing its councils and cares to establish a government upon kindred principles with our own !"

We, therefore, are convinced that no minister who prepares and delivers a discourse on this great subject, will ever regret it, but will find it one of his most pleasant as well as useful sermons. His own mind will be excited, the treasure of his thoughts enriched, and his benevolent emotions enlarged ; his people will be made acquainted with the principles and proceedings of the

Society ; and the most satisfactory and substantial aid will be obtained !

We would, therefore, ask every clergyman in the land, if we had the opportunity, this question—"Can you, in any other way, do as much good with as little labor and expense?"—and we would be willing to rest our claims on the answer which he would make, after having given the subject a fair and candid consideration !

If we dwell much and long on this subject, it is because we feel most deeply interested in it. It may be considered vital to the execution of our plans for the present year. In no other way can so much good be done as by inducing the Clergy, generally, to deliver discourses and take up contributions on or about the approaching Fourth of July.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the New York State Colonization Society.

THE lapse of another year in the history of colonization imposes on us the duty of noticing the prominent events that have occurred during that period, and of recognizing in them the hand and counsel of Him whose universal providence controls alike the mightiest and the most minute affairs of His vast empire.

In presenting this their annual report, while the board of managers deeply feel their obligations of gratitude to God for his favors to them and his blessing on the enterprise in which they are engaged, they would also record, with humility and becoming submission to the divine will, the bereavement they have suffered in the death of one of their number, Col. Wm. L. Stone, of this city. It is only by his removal to another and a higher sphere, that we have become really sensible of how large a space he occupied in those judicious counsels and efficient efforts by which the great enterprises of popular education, of philanthropy and Christian benevolence are promoted.

We do not hope in a passing sentence to pay any adequate tribute to his worth, or to portray the many and various excellencies of his character. The following sketch from the pen of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, we record as embodying our sentiments on this subject:

"Of the general character and influence of Col. Stone, it is not in our power adequately to speak. All, however, who have been familiar with the columns of the 'Commercial Advertiser,' know how continued and ardent was his attachment to this scheme of benevolence ; how powerful were his appeals in its behalf ; and how cutting were the rebukes, and convincing the arguments which he dealt out to those who were disposed to decry its pretensions, or oppose its progress. He had a large and benevolent heart, a vigorous and well-disciplined mind, and he was frank and fearless in the avowal of his opinions. To the enlarged views of a philanthropist, he added the expansive benevolence and fervent hope of a Christian. The combination of all these noble traits of character, gave to his advocacy of this cause, a consideration and an influence which few men are so fortunate as to acquire. He considered it as pre-eminently a scheme of philanthropy, designed to carry civilization and ea.

tablish Christianity in a land all lost and ruined, and irredeemable by any other process of benevolence. Hence, while he explained its principles, demonstrated its practicability, and enforced its importance, he drew from the great treasury of Christian love, motives broad and deep as the woes of man, and vast as eternity, to excite the careless and selfish to give it their support.

"But he has been called, in the vigor of his intellect and the strength of his faculties, to a higher sphere! While we weep over his tomb, may we emulate his virtues and sacredly cherish the memory of his worth!"

Ere the profound emotions of grief and regret at the decease of Col. Stone had become assuaged, we were called to mourn the sudden departure of one of our vice presidents, dear to the whole Christian community, and especially prized and beloved by us for his efficient services as a presiding officer in our board in former years, and his unabated zeal and attachment to our cause until the close of his useful life. We allude to the Rev. Dr. Milnor, late of this city. A man whose memory as a gentleman, a philanthropist, a devout Christian and a zealous, faithful minister of the gospel, will be cherished by this and succeeding generations with an affectionate reverence, so profound as to preclude all attempts at successful eulogium.

Nor are these the only bereavements which the cause of colonization has suffered during the past year. Death seems to have selected as its victims some of the most distinguished patrons of this enterprise! The Hon. Alexander Porter, of Louisiana, the Hon. Abel P. Upshur, of Vir-

ginia, vice presidents of the American Colonization Society, and the Hon. Roger Minott Sherman, president of the Connecticut State Colonization Society, have all, within a little more than the last twelve months, closed their public career and made their final exit from earth. This has occasioned a large blank in the catalogue of distinguished names enrolled on the lists of our patrons. Nor would we omit an obituary notice of the young and enterprising, the noble and self-sacrificing Dr. Wesley Johnson, the patron of learning in Liberia, who fell a victim to his prolonged residence and arduous labors in this cause, in Africa.

We may, however, deduce from the removal of these efficient and illustrious patrons the salutary moral, that we are not to trust in an arm of flesh, nor make man our confidence, but look up to that God who of "the stones can raise up children unto Abraham," and confide in him for the reinforcement of that human instrumentality and for all those appliances by which our enterprise is to be carried forward and consummated.

In the labors of the past year, and in their results, the board have gratifying and encouraging evidence of a reviving interest and a returning confidence in the cause of colonization in this state. When the condition of the enterprise at the commencement of the year, and the peculiar political excitement of the year, are taken into consideration, it is not to be reasonably expected that any great success would signalize the labors of

that period. The fact that during most of the previous year there was no Corresponding Secretary, and no regular and well-qualified agents in the whole field, no information by lectures or publications diffused amongst the people, together with other causes previously operating against it, will readily account for an almost total annihilation of interest and sympathy in the cause of colonization. Nor was this the only disadvantage under which we began and prosecuted the labors of the past year. The lingering effects of the late prostration and pecuniary pressure of the country, were still felt. The year was one of intense, tumultuous, maddened political excitement, which so absorbed the majority of minds everywhere, as to leave them neither time nor inclination to listen or attend to the sober claims of philanthropy and Christian benevolence, whilst the prodigal and enormous expenditure of money on the presidential election, rendered it extremely difficult to procure liberal donations to our cause. To this state of things we may attribute another embarrassment with which we have had to contend, viz: that we have been unable to secure the services of even one efficient agent constantly during the year. But notwithstanding these obstacles the cause of colonization has been perceptibly advanced within the last twelve months, and is now looking up from its former depression with a commingling of smiles and tears on its face!

During the last summer and autumn, most of the towns and cities on the great line of travel from this place to Buffalo, have been visited by the Corresponding Secretary. Access has been gained to pulpits on the Sabbath, and an opportunity thus afforded of exhibiting to large congregations the great evangelic aspect and bearing of colonization on Africa, and of urging the claims of this enterprise, as a medium of sustaining Christian missions there, on the sympathies, the prayers and liberality of all those who CONSISTENTLY desire and labor for the conversion of the whole world. Numerous lectures were delivered during the week, adapted to correct misapprehensions on this subject, and intended to explain the nature and legitimate aims of the enterprise, and to diffuse information respecting the present condition of Liberia in its social, political and religious relations. Much interest appeared to be excited by a simple statement of the undeniable facts in the present prosperous and growing condition of the colonies, many doubts as to the practicability of the enterprise dissipated by the unparalleled success of the commonwealth of Liberia, as attested by credible witnesses on the spot, and many new friends and patrons gained to the cause.

That the amount of funds collected during the year has not been proportioned to the exertions made and to the intrinsic merits and pressing wants of the cause, is very true.

And yet, in view of the magnitude and number of the obstacles already noticed, it has, perhaps, been as large as might be reasonably expected. The Treasurer's report shows, exclusive of the balance in the treasury, an increase of \$2,707 27 over the preceding year. The entire receipts of the year just closing have been \$5,751 93: Sundry articles of merchandize and books to the amount of \$150.

In view of these facts we feel our zeal and our moral courage revived, and we humbly hope in God for greater things in behalf of our cause in the course of the year on which we are now entering.* The past year has furnished ample and gratifying evidence that the enterprise of colonization, throughout the whole country, has secured the returning confidence, the increasing interest and liberal patronage of many of the most substantial members of the great American community. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of collecting funds, to which we have adverted, the receipts of the American Colonization Society show an *increase* over those of the previous year. The Society has sent out three expeditions to Liberia during the past year. One in the brig "Lime Rock," from New Orleans, containing ninety-two emigrants; the next in the ship "VIRGINIA," from Norfolk, containing fifty-eight emigrants, and the third in the brig "Chipola," from Baltimore, contain-

ing twenty-one emigrants who had been liberated by Joseph H. Wilson, Esq., of Kentucky, and furnished by him with a liberal outfit. And such is now the increasing disposition on the part of masters to liberate, and on the part of slaves to emigrate, that many during the past year have been anxious to go but have been prevented, the resources of the Society being entirely inadequate to the demands of this kind made upon it. The Society has succeeded in securing a greater number of well-qualified agents to traverse different sections of the country this year than it has had in its employ for a considerable time past.

In some of the most unpromising fields, pulpits, which have been closed for years, are beginning *now* to be opened again for the presentation of this cause, under the conviction that the exclusion of colonization formerly was a mistaken and costly peace-offering to a spirit that has never been conciliated by it, and which would drive the stern ploughshare of ruin over the churches themselves, rather than fail to carry out its ultra principles. In Massachusetts, within the last twelve months, from twenty to fifty pulpits have welcomed back again the hitherto exiled cause of colonization! After all the abuse and misrepresentation it has encountered, pastors and people recognize in colonization a *healthy conservatism*, vitally impor-

* We have the prospect of securing the services of one or two efficient and energetic agents for the year to come, and the hope of gaining access to pulpits that have hitherto been closed against us.

tant to the integrity of the churches in these times of intense excitement.

In answer to a circular addressed by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Colonization Society to secretaries of state societies, and other distinguished friends of colonization, making various enquiries in regard to the present state of the cause in their different sections of the country, there is indisputable proof that the enterprise is decidedly prosperous and destined to triumphant success. This testimony comes from men of sound judgment, large experience and discriminating observation. From the Hon. Judge Burnet, of Cincinnati; the Hon. R. M. Sherman, of Connecticut; Richard Henry Lee, Professor in W. C., Pennsylvania; Hon. Elisha Whitteley, of Ohio; Professor Simon Greenleaf, of Cambridge, Massachusetts; Rev. Philip Linsley, D. D., of Nashville, Tennessee; besides other respectable individuals of various professions. In view of their answers the Secretary remarks:

"They furnish a mass of concurrent testimony in favor of this great cause which cannot be gainsayed, or resisted. In view of them, it is impossible to doubt that colonization has a deep seat in the affections, and a strong hold on the benevolence of the great body of our countrymen who have given to it the slightest attention. They also fully show that a cause so admirably designed to benefit our own country, and so adapted to dispense the richest blessings to the whole African race, *can* be sustained and rendered effectual in accomplishing the great ends contemplated!"

The principal cause which has operated to produce this reaction in

favor of colonization, and to settle the confidence of the most intelligent portion of the community in it as a *practicable* scheme of lofty philanthropy and benevolence, is *its actual success* as exhibited in the present condition of the colonies of Liberia. Their peaceful and prosperous condition—their improvement in every thing that adds to their physical power and resources, and tends to their social, political, intellectual and moral elevation, has been amply proven by communications from disinterested witnesses on the spot, whose testimony none will have the temerity to dispute. Some of this testimony we shall present as briefly as possible:

Captain Wm. M. Hanbury, of New Orleans, says:

"That the present colonies of Liberia are destined to become a great, flourishing and powerful nation, I am fully convinced. I have dined frequently with the inhabitants in company with the officers of the American Navy, the Governor of the Colony, and other respectable citizens of Monrovia. They live well, and have plenty of every thing around them."

Commodore Perry, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Navy about a year since, says:

"It is gratifying to witness the comforts that most of these people have gathered about them; many of them are familiar with luxuries which were unknown to the early settlers of America. Want would seem to be a stranger among them. If any do suffer, it must be the consequence of their own idleness.

"At all the settlements the established laws are faithfully administered, the morals of the people are good, and the houses of religion are well attended; in truth, the

settlers, as a community, appear to be strongly imbued with religious feelings.

"On the whole, sir, I cannot but think most favorably of these settlements. The experiment of establishing the free colored people of the United States upon this coast has succeeded beyond the expectations of many of the warmest friends of colonization, and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the parent settlers are destined to become an intelligent and a thriving people."

"Increasing attention has been given to the education of the rising generation. The colonial council are concerting measures for establishing a general system of public schools, in which efficient and competent teachers shall be employed, and a thorough course of instruction be given.

"The spirit of improvement has been abroad in the colony. The *Liberia Herald* says: 'The number of buildings at present going up in the colony, as well as those undergoing repairs, is truly cheering.' A large *stone jail* has been erected in Monrovia. Also a most substantial, well-constructed and commodious Court House has been completed. This edifice is built of the stone with which Cape Mesurado abounds. It stands on a site which commands a beautiful view of the lower part of the town—overlooks the bay and anchoring ground, the bar and entrance into the river, Stockton creek, Mesurado river, and a vast extent of the interior country. It is thirty feet by forty in the clear. The first story, which is occupied as the court room, is twelve feet four inches high, from the floor, which is brick, to the ceiling.

"The second story is fitted up for a council chamber. It is a large airy room, reached by two flights of stairs of easy ascent and good workmanship. The legislature met there last March. The third story is divided into jury rooms, offices, &c. The windows of this substantial building are all arched, with shutters made of durable wood, and well painted. The building cost \$4,500, and has been paid for entirely by the commonwealth.

"The light house on the top of the Cape has also been completed. This is a substantial building, two stories high, with a cupola sufficiently elevated to be seen from any direction, and in any weather, at a distance of ten or twelve miles, unless when a thick fog covers the very Cape itself.

"The commerce and trade of the colony have been steadily on the increase. According to the official returns, the imports for a single quarter exceeded \$40,000, and the exports were about the same. The country has immense resources. It only requires industry and indomitable perseverance to develop them.

"It is worthy of remark in this connection, that the receipts into the colonial treasury, chiefly from import duties, were sufficient to meet the current expenses of the commonwealth. These receipts would be vastly increased if all the sea coast was under the jurisdiction of the colony, by which smuggling and the introduction of goods free of duty would be prevented."

The statistics of their agriculture for the last year, are as follows:

"Coffee trees, 21,197; Acres sugar cane, 54; Acres in rice, 62; Do. Indian corn, 105; Do. Ground nuts, 31; Do. Potatoes and Yams, 306; Do. Cassada, 326. Acres owned, 2,534; Under cultivation, 948. Cattle, 71; Sheep and Goats, 214; Swine 285; Ducks and Hens, 119 doz.; Total value owned by farmers, \$21,775."

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Governor Roberts, says:

"I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. Agriculture is in a steadily progressive state, and continues to be a subject of much interest to many of our citizens. It is calling up, in a greater degree than formerly, the attention of men of capital; and when such improvements have been introduced, as the present system requires, it will doubtless become a general source of affluence."

By the last advices from Liberia, it appears that Governor Roberts is likely to succeed in purchasing the territory of "New Sesters," thereby not only extending the jurisdiction and augmenting the physical resources of the colony, but annihilating a slave factory which has long been in operation there. He has already effected the purchase of the remainder of the Little Bassa country, and is communicating with the native chiefs along the coast with a view, as speedily as the means can be furnished, of purchasing the entire territory between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas.

The relations of the colony with the native tribes have been of the most friendly character, during the year. Peace has been steadily maintained. This has resulted, as Governor Roberts remarks :

"Generally from a conviction that we consider them almost a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests. The attachment of the natives is gaining strength daily, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practiced towards them. They continue to refer to the authorities of the colony, for the adjustment of all their important disputes ; and I believe in every instance, we have succeeded in settling them amicably ; thereby preventing wars, and the great calamities that would necessarily follow."

A very remarkable instance in proof of the powerful influence exerted over the most warlike tribes by the government of Liberia, is cited in the case of a dispute which threatened to involve the whole *Goulah* country in a cruel war with the *Condoes*. It was referred to the *Legislature* of

Liberia by *Ballasada*, a Goulah chief, and was happily settled, and the two tribes have continued to live in peace and harmony ever since. That the influence of the colony is extending rapidly into the interior and along the coast, there cannot be a doubt.

We commend this fact especially to the notice of those who refuse to patronize colonization, on the plea that the policy of the colony of Liberia towards the natives is precisely like that of the original settlers of this country towards the Indians, *demonstrating* and *exterminative* !

While we are not willing to grant the truth of the objector's assumption, that such was, in all cases, the policy of the original settlers of this country towards the Indians, the above facts prove incontestibly that such is *not* the policy of the colony of Liberia towards the native Africans.

In estimating the present prosperity of the colonies, we must not overlook their moral and religious condition. They have but two dram-shops in their whole territory, and these are never permitted to be open on the Sabbath.

The following are the ecclesiastical statistics of Liberia :

"Churches, 23; Communicants, American, 1,014; Recaptured Africans, 116; Africans, 353; Total, 1,483."

A community like this, with a *Christian* governor at their head, are very likely not only to be in friendly relations with the native tribes, but to exert on them a most beneficent influence.

We have called Governor Roberts a *Christian* governor, for such in the judgment of charity it seems he is. The Corresponding Secretary of your Society wrote to Governor Roberts, inquiring whether he was a member of any Christian church, and stating that he, (the Secretary,) had received from a gentleman in Canandaigua, a silver cup, to be presented to the church in Liberia in which Governor Roberts worshiped. In answer to this, the governor replies as follows:

"I am happy to be able to inform you that I have long been a member of the M. E. Church, (upwards of 16 years,) and have not failed to find support and consolation in the religion of Christ, and the promises of the Gospel. I beg that you will present my acknowledgments to the donor of the cup to be presented to the church in Liberia in which I worship. It will no doubt be gratefully accepted by the church, and will be to me a remembrance of my friends in the United States, and remind me of the obligations I am under to God and my fellow men, and that I must give an account to the Great Governor of the universe for my stewardship here."

In his message to the colonial legislature, when referring to the treaties which he had made with the surrounding tribes during the year, he remarks:

"These treaties will have the effect of bringing the natives into a closer connexion with the colony—cause them to identify our interests with their own, and will no doubt ultimately have the happy effect of drawing them from their present condition of heathenism and idolatry to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Tribes far beyond us are now making

application for citizenship, and to be identified with us in laws and government."

"These facts, and this testimony of disinterested persons, which might be extended indefinitely, certainly show that Liberia is in a healthful and prosperous condition at present, and that it promises well for the future. We actually behold what Pitt thought would come to pass, when, thirty years ago, in his great speech in Parliament on the slave trade, he said: "

"We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupation of industry, in the pursuits of just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon that land, which at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre, and joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent."

It is not wonderful that the actual results—the triumphant success of colonization, should now begin to react with power on the popular mind in this country, and secure the enlightened confidence and liberal patronage of the community.

Apart from this enterprise, have all the interest, excitement and efforts in this country in reference to the colored race effected any thing that will compare with the indisputable results of colonization?

"What, then, has colonization done? It has laid the foundation of an empire in the commonwealth of Liberia. *There it is*—on the coast of Africa, a little north of the equator, in the central regions of African barbarism, and of the slave trade. *There* are four colonies and twelve Christian settlements, dotting a coast of about 300 miles,

extending their domain, by fair negotiation, back into the interior and along the Atlantic shore, the whole incorporated into a federal republic, after the model of our own, with like institutions, civil, literary, and religious, and composed of Africans and descendants of Africans, most of whom were emancipated from bondage in this country for the purpose, some of whom were recaptured from slave ships, and a small part of whom are adopted natives that have come in to join them. *There is* Christian civilization and the government of law; *there is* a civil jurisprudence and polity; *there are* courts and magistrates, judges and lawyers; *there are* numerous Christian churches, well supplied with ministers of the gospel; *there are* schools, public libraries, and a respectable system of public education; *there is* a public press and two journals, one monthly, and one semi-monthly; *there are* rising towns and villages; *there are* the useful trades and mechanic arts, a productive agriculture and increasing commerce; in their harbors are to be found ships trading with Europe and America, and the exports are increasing from year to year; and all this the creation of somewhat less than twenty years—an achievement of which there is no parallel in history. Not one of the first settlements of our own country, at the north or south, ever accomplished so much in so short a time; not one of them that did not suffer more in its early history by sickness, and famine, and war, and other disasters incident to colonization. In a word, they constitute the germ of a rising and prosperous, and peradventure, of a mighty empire. And, though last, yet not least, they have done more for the suppression of the slave trade than Great Britain with her Spanish treaty, and all the world put together. They have done *much* in this cause; they began the right way; while all else that has been done, by all the world, is literally worse than nothing. And *these* deeds are the product—the work of the American Colonization Society.”

The bearing of colonization on the

extinction of the slave trade was never so apparent nor so promising as at the present time. In his last letter Gov. Roberts remarks:—“Nothing particularly interesting has occurred since my return from the U. S. excepting that a few weeks ago I succeeded in breaking up a slave establishment near little Cape Mount and liberated four slaves, lads from 12 to 15 years of age, who have been placed in the families of colonists.” And if he has succeeded, as we suppose he has, in purchasing the territory of New Sesters, then the slave trade is completely annihilated between the two extremes of colonial jurisdiction!

It is striking to observe how the popular mind both in this country and Great Britain is losing confidence in the efficiency of armed squadrons on the seas to suppress this infamous traffic. The British and foreign anti-slavery society has petitioned Parliament to discontinue an armed force for the suppression of the slave trade, on the well ascertained ground that the evils and horrors of transporting slaves are greatly increased by it, while the numbers annually transported are by no means diminished. Capt. Harris, who was sent to Africa and charged especially by the British government to investigate the matter and report the best method of extinguishing the slave trade, gives it as his deliberate conviction and his matured, decided opinion, that the remedy lies not in armed squadrons on the seas, but must be one of a kind that can be applied to *Africa herself*. He declares, in the most unequivocal

terms, that the slave trade can never be abolished while the barbarous and pagan spirit of Africa herself is in its favor. The only remedy which he thinks at all adapted to remove the evil is the *civilization* and *Christianization* of the native Africans themselves! The very work which colonization is not only adapted to effect but is now actually and rapidly effecting.

Some of the British journals are entering warmly into Capt. Harris's views on this subject, and are showing the enormous expenditure of sustaining a squadron on the African coast, and its utter incapability of effecting the object contemplated. The conviction is growing, even in the minds of irreligious men, that if Africa is to be saved from the ravages and perpetual desolations of slavery and the slave trade, it must be by pervading her with the institutions of civilization and Christianity. The benefits of these institutions our colonies at Liberia have not only conferred on some fifteen or twenty thousand of the natives contiguous to them, but have extended some knowledge of them, and waked up a spirit of inquiry and a desire for improvement through a distance of more than two hundred miles into the interior. It requires no prophetic gift to predict that the time is not far distant when the enlightened patriots, philanthropists and Christians of all countries will direct their attention to *colonization* in connection with *Christian missions* as the

great remedy for the slave trade, the barbarism and all the overgrown, gigantic evils that have so long burnt in their curses on seared and bleeding Africa.

And now may we not in conclusion, in view of the actual results and unparalleled success of the enterprise, ask whether the friends of colonization have ever had so great reason as at present to congratulate themselves, that through discouragements, opposition and conflict, they have steadily adhered to this cause and labored and prayed for its promotion? Their most sanguine hopes respecting it are this day more than realized. It is no matter of surprise that the confidence and patronage of an enlightened community are returning and *increasing* upon this enterprise. Without instituting any invidious comparison, may we not ask whether there is any benevolent scheme of the age so comprehensive of good, and so multiform in its benign relations and bearings on the best interests of aggrieved and oppressed humanity? It furnishes the proscribed, disfranchised colored man of this country, an asylum where he enjoys the social equality, the civil immunities, and the political rights and privileges of a citizen in a wise and well-ordered republican government, and where he has all those appliances for the development of his intellect, and all those lures to his hopes of eminence and distinction, which, under God, have made such men as Gov. Roberts, Judge Bene-

dict, and other leading minds in the commonwealth of Liberia. It reacts on the minds of slave holders in this country in favor of emancipation, because it furnishes the only condition on which *they* regard it honorable and benevolent for them to liberate their slaves.

It carries the blessings of civilization in the only effective form in which they can ever be brought to bear upon Africa herself. It absolutely annihilates the slave trade on the coast as far as colonial jurisdiction extends. It protects and fosters Christian missions, and therefore has proved *the only* means by which evangelic efforts in Africa have been to any extent practicable or successful. With so comprehensive adaptations and tendencies for good to this country and to Africa, and with so triumphant results already realized, the matter of surprise is that the giant energies of this nation, as of one man, are not roused, rallied and concentrated on colonization as the hope of the colored race in two hemispheres, and a twice-blessed work of beneficence and mercy. How irresistible ought to be the appeal of the commonwealth of Liberia to the heart of every *American* patriot who loves republican government and in-

stitutions! That commonwealth is the first attempt by the citizens of this country to plant in a foreign land the peculiar political institutions of their own. That which the Scriptures so beautifully describe as a truth in the natural history of the parent Eagle, seems now to be metaphorically true of our national Eagle: "She stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them upon her wings."

Ours has borne away her firstling and left him on the heights of Cape Mesurado, to mount thence on his circling ascent towards the sun, and to shed from his wings the blessings of republican liberty on Africa.

And how powerful the impulse upon the heart of every *American* Christian, who loves and values civil and religious freedom, to make such a political community on the coast, the medium through which to spread that glorious gospel whose Dove mounts on a loftier flight and purer wings than eagles', bearing in its beak the olive branch of proffered peace from Heaven to man, and diffusing from every point in its upward, shining way, the light and infinite blessings of that "liberty wherewith Christ maketh free."

[Reported for the African Repository.]

Annual Meeting of the New York Colonization Society.

THE thirteenth anniversary of the New York Colonization Society was held on Wednesday evening, May 7, in the Rev. Dr. Mason's Church, Bleeker street, N. Y. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., presided. The

Rev. Dr. Cone read the 35th chapter of Isaiah, and the blessing of God was invoked by the Rev Dr. De Witt.

The choir of the church then sang in a beautiful and expressive manner, the fol-

lowing ode, written for the occasion by Mrs. Mary M. Thompson:

A voice comes from Liberia,
It sounds across the sea;
It rises o'er the mountain top,
It swells along the lea:
It issues from dark Afric's wild,
In accents loud and strong:
(There roams the sable savage child—
There sounds the hunter's song.)

It calls for help from those whose sires
Were once in bondage laid;
A few have kindled sacred fires
On altars newly made.
There, bending in the spicy groves,
They send up fervent prayer;
And where the idol god has stood,
Now stands a temple there.

And oh! will those who once have felt
The darkness and the thrall,
Sit calm, and coldly close their ears
To Ethiop's anxious call?
It cannot be!—for Afric's sons,
With hearts and hands set free,
Will bear to those benighted ones
Light, Life, and Liberty!

The Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Dr. Carroll, then read the annual report.

The Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, was then introduced to the meeting, and offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization, by the greatness of the objects which it contemplates, and the success which has attended its operations, commends itself to every patriot, philanthropist and Christian, and demands their cordial sympathy and support.

Mr. McLain pointed out the objects of the Society, and the great good it designed and would accomplish. The prospects and probabilities of colonization were boundless for good. This subject was thoroughly identified with Christianity, and would make advancements as Christianity advanced.

He showed the immense good which colonization would achieve for the colored people in our own country—and that it was the only hope for Africa, and the only effectual means of arresting the slave trade.

He depicted, in glowing language, the unprecedented and unparalleled wrongs and miseries of Africa, despoiled and made the battle ground of ancient nations, and plundered and pierced by all the modern; prostrate and torn on every side.

It was a land where the Prince of Darkness had drawn his bloodiest sword. From this land could be heard the wailing cry, and seen those streaks of darkness which were impressed upon every thing there. A curse bound inheritance was hers. For centuries, Africa had sat in sackcloth and ashes. The concentrated ills of perpetual bondage were hers. All nations robbed her, and rioted in her weakness. She stood hemmed in by all Christendom, and was drained annually of more than 150,000 of her people.

For a hundred generations she had been shrouded in darkness, and was now just greeting the streaks of the day of her redemption, adorned but by a single civilized State, Liberia, a gem upon her dark and lacerated bosom. Mr. McLain spoke particularly of that colony as comparing well with our own early colonies; as having exerted an influence for the overthrow of the slave trade, and bound themselves in amity by treaty with a native population of some 75,000 souls.

Liberia sheds a new beauty for three hundred miles along the coast. Heroic men—an Ashmun, a Buchanan, and many others—had sacrificed their lives, and the foundation of a new empire of Christian free-men had been laid at a cost of less than \$700,000. This had been done in the face of opposition from the South and the North, amid the reproaches of foes and the apathy and indifference of professed friends. He insisted that the Society deserved aid from all—from patriots, philanthropists, and Christians—as an enterprise for civilization, for liberty and for missions. It was comparatively weak, in its infancy; it needed support; it was laid as a foundling, at the door of all Christians, and they should protect, defend, and sustain it as their adopted child.

The cause of colonization was then defended, and its fruits of good compared

with other enterprises, to show that it had done more, in a shorter time, than any other enterprise.

He closed his address with an urgent appeal for funds to enable the Society to carry forward its stupendous operations.

After singing an ode by the choir, the Rev. Dr. Parker, of Philadelphia, then rose and offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the providence of God in accomplishing great national objects should encourage us in the work of colonization.

The speaker was anxious to impress upon his hearers the manner in which God acted for the improvement of the races of man.

If we ascertain something of the laws of God's providence in effecting great national changes, (said Dr. P.,) it is wise for us to fall in with them. How was the providence of God towards Israel? He sent them into slavery—into bondage among a people then the most learned and wise of all the nations, and he left them in slavery four hundred years. Then how did He bring them out? Not by the Egyptians—but by a high hand He raised up men among themselves to be their leaders, and planted them as a colony in a distant land, when in 700 years they became the most eminent and illustrious, if we regard their whole character, of all the nations of the world.

This to human reason may seem strange; but it has ever been God's providence to overcome by the weak. Again: when the advent of Christ drew nigh, the Jews were dispersed abroad, sent into bondage among the Romans, and they built their synagogues, and worshiped the God of their fathers in their exile and their slavery, and thus contributed, when apostles selected and endowed went forth to preach the gospel from Jerusalem, and they received it, to spread the truth through all the boundaries of the Roman empire. Their synagogues became churches in which, with renovated Pagans, they worshiped Him who was crucified.

So of our Puritan fathers. They fled from oppression, in which the rights of con-

science were violated, and in many cases the best and noblest men were cast down, who sealed their attachment to truth with the sacrifice of all things, and in not a few cases with their blood. How slow was their early growth, how severe their discipline and trials; but when three millions, they rose a free nation—and now nearly twenty millions, their course is onward and who shall prescribe limits to their numbers or power? God has sent millions of Africans to be educated among us—thousands are now, (in an important sense,) educated, and we have sent to Africa a fac simile of our institutions; and under circumstances far more auspicious than attended the planting of the colonies in this country. The African colonists were doing far more for the natives in their country than our fathers did for the natives here. This, in the view of the speaker, was the design of God. It was the manner in which he acted for the accomplishment of great good. Some of our fathers saw, as with the ken of prophecy, what must be the result of the colonies that had been planted here. He predicted a corresponding triumph for Africa.

It is common, in God's providence, that great things and changes move on slowly, and then grow great suddenly. It has been so in our history, we may expect the same to be true of Liberia.

You have seen Governor Roberts. He is modest, unpretending—his messages are marked by good sense and judgment—he moves on steadily—his policy is peace and good will to the natives and to all men. Should we live a hundred years, (and we shall, in this world or another from which we may observe this) we may be surprised at the opinions then entertained of this Liberian Governor. The greatness of great men is not felt by their associates and the generation that surrounds them, who see their faults, as by those in after times.

The time would come for honoring Governor Roberts, as the time had come for honoring the name of Washington. From 3,000, Liberia would become 100,000—from

a few vessels, she would be the owner of fleets. The ratio would run up and the colony would loom up in the charity of this world. She would appeal to us to endow her colleges and her schools.

We have had enough of dreaming philanthropy—enough of what had been called liberty—in tones that claimed to reach to Heaven, but in language of hellish excitement. The practical friends of the colored man were denounced by those who had done nothing for his good.

God's providence should encourage us. This colony when it rises to a population of fifty thousand, and is extending far abroad in Africa its influence, may bind to it the hearts of the colored race in all this continent, and the men of energy among them may hasten to that shore, and thus that colony now so feeble may suddenly expand itself, and cast its broad protection over the bleeding form of Africa. God, to use a quaint word of Bishop Hall, may do by a *fetch* this great work, and compass more than our sanguine hopes anticipate. It seems evi-

dent to me that he has sent these Africans among us for a great design of good to their race, let us discern this wisdom before the whole plan is accomplished. Let us break our boxes of precious ointments when we have them, and enjoy as well as impart their fragrance.

I noticed, said Dr. P., the allusion of my brother to the Eagle as an emblem of our liberty, and of the propagation of this liberty in Africa. Surely that glorious Eagle must expand its wings and triumph there.

The gray forest Eagle, where, where has he sped,
Does he shrink to his eyrie and shiver with dread?
Does the glare blind his eye? Has the terrible blast
On the wing of the sky king a fear fetter cast?
No, no, the brave Eagle; he thinks not of fright,
The wrath of the tempest but rouses delight,
To the flash of the lightning his eye casts a gleam,
To the shriek of the wild blast he echoes his scream,
And with front like a warrior that speeds to the fray,
And a clapping of pinions he's up and away,
Away, O away soars he fearless and free,
What reck's the sky's strife, its monarch is he.

The doxology was then sung, and the meeting adjourned.

The Slave Trade.

"BRITISH slave trading exterminated? It is a lie. There is no other word appropriate to the case. It is a lie—a gross, a palpable, an 'enormous' lie. It is proved to be a lie by Zulueta's trial. It is proved to be a lie by Mr. Foster's white-washing committee."

Such was the exclamation of a London editor, about a year ago. Is it true? and if true, what apology, what palliation can be offered? Here is the report of Zulueta's trial, —a London pamphlet of ninety-six pages,—and here is the report of "Mr. Foster's white-washing committee;" and here are other documents relating to the same subject.—Let us examine them.

Pedro de Zulueta, jr., of the firm

of Zulueta & Co., London, was tried before the Central Criminal Court of the city of London, on the 27th, 28th, and 30th of October, 1843, on a charge of slave trading. It is not necessary to fatigue our readers with all the complicated details of the evidence. The facts material to the present question are as follows:

Zulueta & Co. were commission merchants, transacting business for Don Pedro Martinez, of Cadiz; Pedro Martinez & Co., of Havana; Blanco & Cavallo, of Havana; and others, in South America and the West Indies. From those houses, they received consignments of sugar,

cochineal, and other merchandize, which they sold, and disposed of the proceeds according to instructions received. Zulueta knew, from common report, that Martinez, of Cadiz, and Martinez & Co., of Havana, were engaged in the slave trade. He knew, in the same way, that Gallinas, on the west coast of Africa, was a slave mart; though he professed not to know that there was no lawful commerce there. In the course of twenty years, he had shipped goods to the amount of £20,000, or £22,000, to Africa, nearly all of which was shipped to Gallinas, on account of Martinez, and Martinez & Co. These goods appeared to be such as might be used for lawful purposes, but are needed for the purchase and subsistence of slaves. They had been consigned to different persons; sometimes to Pedro Blanco, who, Zulueta said, "was, for a certain time, an agent of Pedro Martinez on the coast." They also accepted bills drawn by Pedro Blanco and other "people on the coast," to be paid out of funds in their hands belonging to Martinez, Martinez & Co., or Blanco & Cavallo.

In 1839, a vessel called the *Golupchick*, under the Russian flag, but with a Spanish master and crew, and fully equipped for the slave trade, was captured on the coast of Africa, and sent to England, where the Russian consul interfered, and at length she was sold at auction. There was some uncertainty as to the real purchaser. The ostensible purchaser was Thomas Jennings, who had

long been in the employment of Pedro Martinez. The purchase money was furnished by Zulueta & Co., on account of Martinez; and the vessel was mortgaged to Martinez as security. Zulueta at first instructed Jennings not to give more than £500, but afterwards paid £650. She was supposed to be worth £1,400. The vessel was then named the *Augusta*, and chartered by Martinez, through Zulueta & Co., for a voyage to Gallinas, with Jennings as master. She was taken from Portsmouth to Liverpool, received a cargo suitable for the African trade, and sailed for Gallinas; Zulueta paying the bills, on account of Martinez. She was consigned to three notorious slave traders at Gallinas.

On leaving the Irish channel, a heavy gale came on; the ship was damaged and endangered, and the crew insisted on putting back to Cork, not more than one hundred miles distant, with a fair wind; but Jennings pressed on for nineteen days, against adverse winds, to Cadiz. From Cadiz she carried letters from Martinez to the consignees at Gallinas. There was proof that touching at Cadiz for these letters was a part of the original plan of the voyage, as understood by Martinez and Jennings. The letters contained abundant instructions concerning certain slave trading operations; and one of them authorized the consignees to employ the *Augusta* in procuring supplies for the slaves on hand, or articles for the purchase of other slaves; and adds:—"You may

also employ the aforesaid vessel in any matter of extreme urgency, and in the service of that factory; for I feel assured that the master will object to nothing." On arriving off Gallinas, she was taken by a British cruiser, sent to Sierra Leone, and there condemned. Her guilty connection with the slave trade was so evident from the letters found on board, that Jennings attempted no defence.

Zulueta's trial was for his participation in fitting out the *Augusta*. The question was, whether he was aware of the character of her voyage. The letters put on board at Cadiz would not be used against him: though they would have been good against Jennings had he been on trial. The verdict was "NOT GUILTY."

It appears, then, that in England a man may act as agent of the most notorious slave traders on earth, knowing such to be their uncontradicted and unquestioned reputation; that he may buy and charter vessels for them, to be used in the slave trade; purchase and ship supplies for the slaves in the barracoons, and goods to be bartered for slaves, and accept and pay their bills growing out of their slave trading transactions, and it is all lawful; provided that he knows the character of the business only by common report. If he should receive and execute an order to buy and ship so many pieces of cotton *to be used in the slave trade*, he would be guilty; but if he receives an order from a notorious

slave trader to buy so many pieces of cotton and ship them to well-known slave traders at Gallinas, where there is no trade but the slave trade; and if he only executes that order, asking no questions for conscience's sake, it is all right.

The advantage which slave traders may derive from such an agency in England, are manifest. The slaves must be bought, almost wholly, with goods of British manufacture. The means of carrying on the trade are procured, of necessity, principally in England; and the rest in the United States, and other countries where the slave trade is unlawful. Agents in the countries from which the necessary articles must be procured, who can buy and ship them *innocently*, are almost indispensable to the existence of the traffic, and quite indispensable to its most successful prosecution. Don Pedro Martinez is perfectly aware of the value of these arrangements. In one of the letters found on board the *Augusta*, dated "Cadiz, December 10, 1840," and addressed to "Don Ignacio Perez Rollo, Gallinas," one of the consignees, he says:—"The friends at New York and London have replied to me, relative to their being willing to satisfy the bills you may draw on them; *which would facilitate giving a somewhat greater impulse to business.*" No doubt it would, as it would enable them to purchase cotton, gunpowder, rum, and tobacco, more advantageously; but how are Zulueta & Co., of London, or Peter Harmony & Co., of New

York, on whom he was to draw in preference, to know whether those bills represented the profits of the slave trade, or of the trade in palm oil, sugar, or cochineal? If the latter, it is evidently an honest business.

Let us repress our indignation for a few moments, and look at this matter calmly. Our laws on this subject, we believe, are somewhat stricter than those of England; but might nothing of the kind happen here? Suppose that Martinez sends a cargo of Mexican goods, the produce of "free labor"—for he deals largely in such—to Peter Harmony & Co., who sell them for him. He then authorizes "Don Ignacio Perez Rollo, of Gallinas," to buy so many pieces of cotton of any American trader whom he may find at Cape Mount, or Sherbro, or the Rio Grande, and pay for it by drawing bills on Peter Harmony & Co. It is a very great convenience to the slave trader; but what is to be done about it? Peter Harmony owes the money, and must pay it; even if he knows what the cotton was bought for.

Take another case. In our April number we gave an account of the sale of the *Atalanta*, of New York, to slave traders, and of her sailing for Havana with more than 400 slaves on board. Suppose that some agent of Martinez was the purchaser, which is not at all improbable; that he paid Captain Johnson for the *Atalanta* by a draft on Peter Harmony & Co.; and that they are indebted to Martinez, as before sup-

posed. In such a case, the New York house owes the money, and must pay it.

In fact, it is impossible for any merchant absolutely to secure his business against the possibility of being made indirectly subservient to the convenience of slave traders. Guard himself as he can, something that he sells may get into their hands; and the price of something that he buys may go into their pockets. All that can reasonably be demanded of a merchant, is, that he shall make no *voluntary* contribution to their success.

Another consideration. If Zulueta & Co. had no capital of their own, Martinez could not safely trust them with property, nor could they successfully transact his business, to the amount of some tens of thousands annually. It takes British capital to make a good London agent for a Spanish slave trader. British capital is employed in the agency for "sugar and cochineal," and so gets mixed up with the Spanish capital that trades in sugar, cochineal, and *slaves*, and thus becomes subservient to the slave trade. Any one may see how easy it is for a British merchant, of more avarice than conscience, to let his capital get mixed up in this way, to almost any extent, without exposing himself to the law. And who can doubt that it is done—deliberately and profitably done—to a vast amount? Not improbably, more than half the capital employed in the slave trade, is British; and very possibly, a large part of the rest is

American. 'This, of course, is mere conjecture; for if we were able to prove it against any American merchant, we should soon stop his operations. Still, when we think of the immense profits of the slave trade, the facilities for indirect and undetected participation in it, and the supremacy of avarice in many minds, there can be no reasonable doubt on the subject.

We will now look at another, a more direct and more startling case of subserviency to the convenience of slave traders. Lieut. CHARLES H. BELL, of the U. S. brig *Dolphin*, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated "New York, July 28, 1840," says:

"Most of the slavers sent into Sierra Leone have such articles on board as are used in trafficking for slaves. When the vessels are condemned, these articles are sold at public auction—are purchased by an Englishman there who is said to be the agent of Pedro Blanco, the great slave dealer at Gallinas. Whether this is the case or not, is of little consequence; they are put on board of an English cutter belonging to this man, who carries them to Gallinas, and lands them at his pleasure. This is well known to every person at Sierra Leone; and, in conversation with the Governor, when he made some remarks on the shameful use of our flag in this trade, I spoke to him on the subject; stated that the slave trade was encouraged and abetted by such proceedings under the very eye of his Government. He said he was sensible of it; but, as this was a *legal* traffic, he could not prevent it. British as well as American and French merchant vessels are also engaged in supplying these slave stations with provisions, and even luxuries, for which they are well paid, and for want of which they could not exist."

Incredible as these statements may appear, their truth is more than admitted by "Mr. Foster's white-washing committee;" in other words, the "Select committee of the British

House of Commons, on the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa." That portion of their report, presented in August, 1842, which relates to the subject before us, we give entire:

"We now come to the question which has of late excited so much interest and feeling—that of the facilities which British commerce is charged with having furnished to the slave trade, and to the extent and nature of the connexion which exists between them—a question which must be considered dispassionately and soberly, rather with a view to what is best for the object, upon the whole, and to what is practicable, than to what might at first appear to be desirable, and what might be perhaps a partial good, producing possibly, in other ways, a greater evil. Now, in the first place, it is fair to state that we have no evidence, or reason to believe, that any British merchant, concerned in the trade with the west coast of Africa, either owns or equips any vessel engaged in the slave trade, or has any share in the risks or profits of any slave trade venture. The charge is this, and it must be admitted, that whether by selling condemned slave vessels back to slave dealers, which is the rarer case, or, which is the more common, by selling to slave dealers lawful goods, which are afterwards employed in barter for slaves, (whether circuitously by sale to merchants in Cuba and Brazil, or directly on the coast of Africa,) the British merchant and manufacturer does, in common with the merchants of other nations, furnish very considerable facilities for the slave trade.

"It must further be admitted, that, owing to the equipment article in our recent treaties, which has prevented the actual slaver from hovering on the coast in safety, a large portion of the goods necessary for the slave trade is driven into vessels innocent in their apparent character, but subserving the purposes of the slaver; and that, in consequence, a somewhat larger portion of this kind of traffic may possibly now pass directly from the English or other merchants to the coast of Africa than heretofore, when those supplies went round by Cuba and Brazil in the slavers themselves, without risk of capture.

"Now, an opinion has prevailed, and that in very influential quarters, and it runs through Doctor Madden's report, that at least such direct dealing is illegal, and punishable under the statute of 5 Geo. IV, c. 5; and, if not so already, the same parties would urge on Parliament to make it so by new enactment; and some even

would extend it to all connexion, however indirect, in which a guilty knowledge of the destination of the goods or of the vessel could be presumed. Now, this view of the act is not unnatural, owing to the general and comprehensive nature of its language, and to the desire which must naturally exist to understand it in as comprehensive a sense as possible, for the obstruction of so odious and detestable a traffic as the slave trade. But, looking closely at the language of the act itself, and to the interpretation put upon it by the law officers of the Crown, as alluded to by the under secretary of the colonies, in his letter to Doctor Madden, April, 1842, and to the opinion of the attorney general in the case, inserted in the evidence, we cannot affirm it to be illegal now, and we shall presently state to the House why, however reluctantly we may come to the conclusion, we are not prepared to recommend that it should be made so.

“Now, in the first place, it is difficult to consider or to make that illegal which is and has been done at Sierra Leone for years, by a court of judicature, (in doing so, acting under treaties and under the sanction of an act of Parliament, namely,) selling publicly, and to the highest bidder, prize vessels and prize goods condemned for slave dealing, indiscriminately, and without precaution or restriction, to persons of all descriptions, including slave dealers themselves, and which, in regard to vessels at least, had been practised in that colony, by persons of high character and station, unapproved. But, if it should be made illegal hereafter to sell a vessel to a party concerned in the traffic in slaves, the next question, and one that a legislative body must consider, is, in what manner shall such a prohibition be enforced? A bond that the vessel shall not be disposed of to a slave dealer has been proposed; but how shall the vessel be prevented from passing very shortly from hand to hand, till it reaches an unlawful owner? And is it not unwise for the law to attempt that which it has so little means of effectually enforcing? There seems no remedy for this, which, at Sierra Leone, in the heart of the slave trade, and where the vessel is often sold for half its value, is an evil substantially as well as in feeling, but that of extending the provisions of those treaties which direct that a slave vessel shall be broken up, not sold, and altering our own municipal laws to the same effect.

“But, in regard to goods and merchandize, should the committee advise the House to make such dealing illegal? Now, all the witnesses, even those who advocate this view most strongly, admit that legitimate trade, by which is meant the exchange of merchandize for produce, is most bene-

ficial to Africa, and co-operates materially with the cruiser in his operations, whether directly by the assistance and information with which the British trader supplies him, or indirectly by diminishing the necessity of a trade in slaves, as the means of procuring European or other goods. They admit that nothing, therefore, would be more injurious to the interests of Africa than to interfere materially with the operations of lawful commerce. It appears, moreover, that in every place on the coast north of the line, (to which limits our inquiries have mainly been confined,) with the exception of perhaps two or three points, a lawful trade of more or less extent is, or has been, carried on contemporaneously with, and often, nay generally, by the same persons as the slave trade. They have told us that the same goods, such as cottons, rum, tobacco, guns, and gunpowder, are employed in both trades; and that, although those employed in the slave trade are often of an inferior description, yet that quality alone will not furnish the means of distinguishing between the one and the other, and that, practically, there are no means of making such a distinction; they have told us that any restriction on traffic which they would recommend must therefore be confined to places or persons *solely* or *principally* concerned in the slave trade, and that the law should not attempt to interfere with any other. The question still remains, how this is to be carried out.

“With regard to those places where the slave trade has been extinguished, no difficulty will arise; but with regard to those places, not few in number nor of slight importance, where, as in Bissao now, and as it has been, and may be again, in the Brass and Bonny rivers, the most important marts for lawful trade upon the coast of Africa, a trade in produce and slaves is carried on together, and by the same persons; or where, as in Whydah and Popo, a trade in produce has been gradually growing up and gaining upon the slave trade, in proportion as the enterprise of the British merchant pushes on the one, and the vigilance of the British cruiser checks and cripples the other, how should the Legislature deal with them? Shall they be lawful or unlawful ports or persons? What is to legalize the traffic in such cases? What proportion, or what positive amount, of lawful traffic? But, indeed, how is the lawful traffic to spring up at all under such circumstances of exclusion?

“Some witnesses have argued that this question of degree need not be defined, but may be left to be solved by the practical sense of a jury. By what jury? In England or at Sierra Leone? Under what uncertainties and obstructions would the most

scrupulous trader deal with the coast of Africa, if for the misinterpretation of such instructions, as the nature of such a case will admit, by a supercargo, his vessel and goods are liable to be brought some hundreds or thousands of miles out of their course, to have the question decided by a jury, whether some person or some factory dealt with was *principally* or not engaged in the slave trade, it being unlawful if *principally*, lawful if *partially*, in some unknown and varying proportion, so engaged.

"The question for the Legislature to consider is, whether it is worth while to do all this, to infuse so much risk and uncertainty into a trade which it wishes to encourage, which it looks to as one of the main instruments for the civilization of Africa, for the sake of interfering with so small a proportion of the facilities which commerce, permitted at all with Africa, under her present circumstances, must of necessity afford more or less to the trade in slaves. For, unless all other countries can be persuaded to take the same view, it must, indeed, be a small proportion, and little, indeed, will have been done towards the object; an obstruction will merely have been raised for such length of time as may be required for conveying the same goods from England, or from foreign countries, through other channels. It would be merely a transfer, and a transfer to parties less friendly to the object, and less under control. We have had ample evidence that foreign vessels already carry on this trade to a considerable extent; nor is there any right, by existing treaty with foreign nations, nor can it be expected that we should obtain it, to interrupt foreign vessels engaged in such a traffic. But, indeed, how would it be carried on? The right of search, in any shape, is one, as we know by experience, that requires the greatest delicacy in carrying out with the ships of friendly nations. But what kind of search must that be which would seek to ascertain, on board of an apparently innocent vessel, innocent in her build and in her equipment, and freighted with innocent goods, whether the destination of such goods was not made unlawful by some document hidden in the most obscure recesses of the vessel? How prolonged, how minute, consequently how irritating at all times, how vexatious if unsuccessful; how likely to be unsuccessful, if not guided by more obvious indications; how likely, consequently, to lead to disputes and collisions among nations, most injurious, if not fatal, to that harmonious co-operation for the common object, which is so absolutely essential to success. It must not be lost sight of how large a share of these evils must be inflicted on those who are engaged

in our own lawful commerce, if such a search be applied to them.

"Now, if we were bound by a rigid principle to do this, these arguments must be rejected, as not affecting a case of conscience; but in this case we are not trying the value of a rigid principle. The principle would be intelligible which dictated the absolute interdiction of all commerce with every place from which a single slave was exported; or, further still, with every place from which a slave trade was carried on, such as Cuba and Brazil; or if it dictated a prohibition to send goods where there was a probability that they might be exchanged for slaves. But this arbitrary and uncertain limitation, so little capable of being referred to strict principle, and yet so injurious to lawful commerce, can only rest on the ground of its expediency, of its tendency to attain or promote the object; must submit to be tried by that test, and so tried will be found wanting. It is no doubt galling to a zealous and gallant officer, engaged, in the service of his country and humanity, in watching anxiously a well-known slaver's haunt, to see foreign vessels, still more, vessels bearing his own country's flag, passing inwards and supplying those goods, though innocent in themselves, which are the medium of an atrocious traffic; it is not surprising, under such circumstances, that feeling should have arisen which appears in Doctor Madden's report, and in the evidence of several, especially the naval, witnesses. It is a feeling natural and honorable in itself, and we hope that the English merchant, animated, as he is, by the same feelings of horror for the slave trade, will endeavor to extend the influence of those feelings through the whole circle of his transactions. But we cannot recommend that a provision so difficult to be carried out, so vexatious, and yet so ineffectual for its object, should be made the subject of legislation."

What answer shall be given to this reasoning? It cannot be answered. It is conclusive. While slaves can be bought in Africa and sold in some other part of the world, legislation cannot keep British commerce, or American commerce, from furnishing facilities for the slave trade. No one, we presume, thinks of establishing and enforcing an absolute commercial non-intercourse between Africa and all the rest of

the world. Of course, then, a stop must be put to the *selling of slaves in Africa*, or to the buying of slaves in Brazil and in all other countries; or the trade will go on, and in defiance of all possible legislative enactments, will derive facilities from the general commerce of the world.

We conclude, therefore, that, in a certain sense, the harsh assertion of

the London editor is true. The employment of British capital in furnishing facilities for the slave trade is *not* abolished; and what is more, it never can be abolished by the course of policy on which the British government has hitherto relied. For the sake of Africa, and of humanity, we rejoice to see that some of her thinking men are at last adopting sounder views.

(Concluded from page 123.)

Colonization and Missions.

PART IV.

Recapitulation.—Conclusion.

SUCH have been the leading facts in respect to Western Africa from the time of Ibn Haukal to the present day—about nine centuries. From the first purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese voyagers, has been 402 years; from the first discovery of the negro country by the Portuguese, 397 years; from the discovery of Cape Mesurado, 382 years; and from the complete exploration of the coast of Upper Guinea, 373 years; and this, even if we reject the accounts of the French, who profess to have had trading posts where Liberia now is, 498 years ago. At our earliest dates, the natives were idolaters of the grossest kind, polygamists, slave holders, slave traders, kidnappers, offerers of human sacrifices, and some of them cannibals. For four centuries, or five if we receive the French account, they have been in habits of constant intercourse with the most profligate, the most licentious, the most rapacious, and in every respect the vilest and most corrupting classes of men to be found in the civilized world—with slave traders, most of whom were pirates in every thing

but courage, and many of whom committed piracy whenever they dared—and with pirates in the fullest sense of the word. Before the year 1600, the influence of these men had been sufficient to displace the native languages in the transaction of business, and substitute the Portuguese, which was generally understood and used in their intercourse with foreigners; and since that time, the Portuguese has been in like manner displaced by the English. By this intercourse, the natives were constantly stimulated to crimes of the deepest dye, and thoroughly trained to all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning. During the most fearful predominance of undisguised piracy, from 1688 to 1720, their demoralization went on, especially upon the Windward Coast, more rapidly than ever before, and became so intense that it was impossible to maintain trading houses on shore; so that, on this account, as we are expressly informed, in 1730, there was not a single European factory on that whole coast. Trade was then carried on by ships passing along the coast, and stopping wherever the natives kindled a fire as a signal for traffic. And this continued to be the usual mode

of intercourse on that coast, when the British Parliament, in 1791, began to collect evidence concerning the slave trade. Nor were factories re-established there, till the slave trade and its attendant vices had diminished the danger by depopulating the country.

It appears, too, that nothing has ever impeded or disturbed the constant flow of this bad influence, but colonization and its consequences. The Colony of Sierra Leone was planted, as a means of resisting and ultimately suppressing the slave trade. The testimony which it collected and furnished during twenty years of labor and suffering, was the principal means of inducing the British Parliament to pass the act of 1807, abolishing that traffic. From that time to the present, it has rendered indispensable assistance in all that has been done to enforce that act. Through its influence, the slave trade is suppressed, slavery itself is abolished, and a Christian and civilized negro community* of 40,000 or 50,000 persons is established, on the territory which it controls. Liberia, only about one-third as old, has expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast, with the exception of a single point, brought a native population of 10,000 or 15,000, by their own consent, under the protection and control of a civilized republican government which does not tolerate slavery, and brought from 60,000 to 100,000 more to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages. Still later, another British settlement of recaptured Africans on the Gambia has begun to do the same good work in that region.

Beyond Cape Palmas, a few British, Dutch, and Danish forts overawe the natives in their immediate vicinity, and one of them protects a mission. Elsewhere, the work is not even begun.

The summary of Christian missions without colonization may be given in a few words. The Roman Catholics come first. Omitting the French statement, of a chapel built at Elmina in 1387, let us begin with the Portuguese mission at that place, in 1482. Romish missions continued till that of the Spanish Capuchins at Sierra Leone was given up in 1723, which was 241 years. They made no impression, except upon their immediate dependents; and what they made, was soon totally obliterated. Their stations were numerous, along the whole coast; but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations.

Protestant missionary attempts were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, 108 years ago, and continued till 1770. Five attempts cost eleven lives, and effected nothing. The account of them scarce fills a page in Crantz's "History of the Brethren."

English attempts have been more numerous. That of Capt. Beaver at Bulama Island, in 1792, does not appear to have been distinctively of a missionary character, though it must have contemplated the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, as one of its results and means of success. It failed in two years, and with the loss of more than 100 lives. The missions to the Foulahs, in 1795, found, when at Sierra Leone, insuperable obstacles to success, and returned without commencing its labors.

* That is, Christian and civilized in respect to the character of its government and institutions, and the predominant character of the people; though multitudes of the inhabitants, but lately rescued from the holds of slave ships, are just beginning to learn what Christianity and civilization are.

The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct, and five of the six missionaries dead, in 1800. The Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804; but it was four years before they could find a place out of the colony, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations, viz: Fantimania, Bashia, Canoffee, Lisa and Jesulu, on or near the Rio Pongas, Gambier on the Rio Dembia, Gambier on the Isles de Los, Gambier among the Bagoes, Goree, and Yongroo among the Bulloms. Goree was given up to the French and abandoned. The hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from the other nine, and forced them to take refuge in the Colony of Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. Here, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of the climate and the hostility of the natives. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have been made at Half Cavally, within the territorial limits of Cape Palmas, and at Rockbokah and Taboo, in its immediate vicinity, and within the reach of its constant influence. The result has been already stated. The mission of the Presbyterian Board has been removed to Settra Kroo, about seventeen miles from the Mississippi settlement at Sinou. Death has reduced its numbers to a single widow, who teaches a school. As the Kroos have bound themselves by their late treaty with the Liberian government, "to foster and protect the American missionaries;" and as the mission is placed where no hostile act can long be concealed from that

government, it may be regarded as safe under colonial protection. The mission of the American Board has been removed from Cape Palmas, about 1,250 miles, to the River Gaboon, in Lower Guinea, and placed among a people, whom the missionaries represent as much superior to any within the region embraced in these researches. Its labors here commenced in July, 1842. It is yet uncertain, therefore, whether it will be able to maintain its ground, even as long as did the English mission at the Rio Pongas. An attempt, the success of which is yet doubtful, to establish a "Mendi Mission," between Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the vicinity of both those colonies will diminish the danger; two or three English Wesleyan stations, protected by the British Forts on the Gold and Slave coasts; the missions in South Africa, most of which are within the Cape Colony, and the remainder among tribes under its influence and deriving safety from its power; an attempt to open intercourse with the nominal Christians of Abyssinia; a small English mission to the Copts at Cairo, and still smaller French missions at Algiers—if this last still exists—complete the list, so far as we can learn, of Protestant missionary attempts on the continent of Africa. To these, add the attempt of Capt. Beaver and others to promote civilization by a colony of Englishmen at Bulama Island in 1792, and the late disastrous Niger Expedition of the British government, and we have the sum total of Protestant expeditions for the improvement of African character.

The failure of the Niger Expedition prostrates for the present, and probably forever, the hope which it was intended to realize; the hope of opening an intercourse with the less demoralized nations of the interior, by ascending that river. It has shown that we must reach the coun-

tries on the Niger from the west, by the route pointed out by Gen. Harper in 1817, and followed by the Portuguese mulattoes in 1660. Of all Atlantic ports, Monrovia is probably the nearest to the boatable waters of the Niger. The Atlantic termination of the route must be somewhere from Liberia to Sierra Leone, inclusive. Nor is there any reason to hope that this route can ever be made available for any purpose of practical utility, till colonization has, in a good degree, civilized the country through which it must pass. We *must* begin by civilizing and Christianizing the population on the coast.*

And this work is going on successfully, by the colonization of the coast with civilized men of African descent. Sierra Leone has done much, notwithstanding its great and peculiar disadvantages. Its thousands, among whom all the safety of civilization is enjoyed, have already been mentioned. Liberia proper has under its jurisdiction, a population of 15,000 or more, among whom any missionary who can endure the climate, may

labor without danger and without interruption. Of these, more than 10,000 are natives of the country, in the process of civilization. Of these natives, about 1,500 are so far civilized that the heads of families among them are thought worthy to vote, and do vote, at elections; 353 are communicants in the several churches; and the remainder, generally, are merely unconverted human beings, who have some respect for Christianity, and none for any other religion. Among these, neither the slave trade nor slavery is tolerated. Besides these, numerous tribes, comprising a population of from 50,000 to 100,000, and according to some statements, a still greater number, have placed themselves by treaty under the civilizing influence of the colony; have made the slave trade and various other barbarous and heathenish usages unlawful, and many of them have stipulated to foster and protect American missionaries. The territory of these allied tribes is supposed to extend half-way to the waters of the Niger. Several missionary stations have already been established among them,

* If any are alarmed at the supposed expensiveness of our enterprise, we would suggest to them in the first place, that the thought of leaving Africa forever in her present horrible condition, for the sake of avoiding any expense whatever, is unchristian, and not to be entertained for a moment. Africa must be converted; and whatever expense is really necessary for that purpose, must be incurred. In the second place, we would submit the following estimate, by the late Secretary of the Navy, of the expense of the squadron of 80 guns, which the United States is bound by the Ashburton treaty, to keep on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. It is dated December 29, 1842, and was made in obedience to a resolution of the Senate, of the 14th of that month:—

Number and class of vessels.	Cost of the vessels.	Ann ^d cost of repairs, and wear and tear.	Number of officers.	Number of petty officers, seamen, and marines.	Annual expense under all heads of expenditures, except wear and tear.
Two sloops of 1st class - - -	\$257,655	\$20,000	42	366	\$133,986
Four brigs or schooners - - -	166,587	20,000	40	260	107,196
Total - - - - -	\$424,242	40,000	82	626	241,182

with perfect confidence in their safety.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, though but ten years old, and numbering less than 700 emigrants, has also proved a safe field for missionary labor.

Still later, it would seem, though we have not been able to obtain exact information, the British government has settled about 1,500 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, on the Gambia; some of them, probably, at

Bathurst, near the mouth of the river; and some of them, certainly, at Macarthy's Island, 300 miles from its mouth. At both of these settlements, the English Wesleyan missions are flourishing. That at Bathurst reckons 279 converts, and the other 254.

It has usually been supposed, that sensible and candid men may learn from experience. If so, it would seem that such a variety of experiments extending through four centuries, and all pointing to the same

According to this estimate, the expense of a brig or schooner, including interest on her first cost, is \$34,297 a year, or \$2,858 a month. On the 300 miles of coast which we wish to possess, there is still one slave factory—at New Cess. The expense of watching that factory two months, with the smallest vessel in the squadron, would be amply sufficient to purchase New Cess, settle it with emancipated slaves from Tennessee, and thus stop the slave trade there forever. Again: The 150 miles of coast, or thereabouts, which we wish to purchase, will cost, it is supposed, \$15,000 or \$20,000; say \$20,000, which is 133½ dollars a mile. This is probably high enough, as the last purchase of ten miles cost but thirty dollars a mile. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is estimated, in round numbers, at 4,000 miles. This includes some long tracts of coast, on which there is no slave trade; but let that pass. The whole 4,000 miles, if in the market at 133½ dollars a mile, would cost, \$533,333. The annual expense of our squadron of 80 guns, including interest on the first cost, is \$306,636. Its expense in two years is \$613,272; being enough to buy the whole 4,000 miles, and leave a surplus of \$79,939, or \$38,868 a year, to be expended in colonization. And yet again: The whole expense of this work can by no means be allowed to fall upon this country. The annual expense of the British squadrons employed in watching the slave trade, for several years past, has been estimated at £500,000, or about \$2,437,500, and there is no probability that it can be diminished, if the present system be continued, for many years to come. Here is a sum, large enough to meet the expense of purchasing and colonizing to any desirable extent, and with any desirable rapidity. The most difficult parts of the coast to manage are the possessions of Portugal, a power almost wholly under the protection and dictation of Great Britain. Here is money enough to pay for them all, and thus end that part of the trouble at once and forever.

We are perfectly aware that the whole of these naval expenditures cannot be diverted to the purposes of colonization, as some ship must be kept on that coast for other objects; that some portions of the coast may not be purchasable at any price; and that national jealousies may interpose hindrances to the straight-forward execution of such a plan in its full extent. Still, it is none the less evident, that colonization, so far as it is practicable, is beyond comparison the cheapest mode of exterminating the slave trade and civilizing Africa; and that Great Britain and the United States are expending money enough, if judiciously applied, to give Christian civilization an overwhelming predominance on the whole coast, and thus finish the work in a very few years.

The greatest obstacles to the complete execution of such a plan, however, are found in two points of British policy. In the first place, Great Britain is unwilling to make her colonies sufficiently democratic. Instead of calling out the energies of her colonists by loading them with the responsibility and stimulating them with the honor of self-government, she aims only to make them a virtuous peasantry, under officers appointed and paid by the crown. This policy vastly increases the expense of her establishments, while it diminishes their efficiency. For adhering to it, however, she has some apology in the fact, that she has few subjects for colonization in Africa, of equal capacity with ours. In the second place, instead of wishing to colonize Africa, she is desirous, and is endeavoring, as a substitute for the slave trade, to transfer free laborers from Africa to the West Indies, to be a laboring peasantry there. The good of Africa, and the most cheap and effectual suppression of the slave trade, must be sacrificed to the interest of her sugar-planters. This, however, need not hinder us from doing that part of the work which belongs to us, in the best possible way.

conclusion, might suffice to teach them. Consider the numerous attempts by Romanists of different nations and orders, Portuguese, Spaniards and French, Capuchins, Dominicans and Jesuits, and by Protestants of divers nations and communities, to sustain missions there without colonies, and always with the same result. Consider, too, that every attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization by colonizing Africa with people of African descent, has been, in a greater or less degree, successful. Every such colony planted, still subsists, and wherever its jurisdiction extends, has banished piracy and the slave trade; extinguished domestic slavery; put an end to human sacrifices and cannibalism; established a constitutional civil government, trial by jury and the reign of law; introduced the arts, usages and comforts of civilized life, and imparted them to more or less of the natives; established schools, built houses of worship, gathered churches, sustained the preaching of the gospel, protected missionaries, and seen native converts received to Christian communion. *Not a colony has been attempted without leading to all these results.*

In view of these facts,—while we readily grant that some Liberians sing, pray and exhort too loud at their religious meetings; that some profess much piety, who have little or none; that some of the people are indolent and some dishonest, and that some of their children play pranks in school, all greatly to the annoyance of white missionaries worn down by the fever,—still, we claim that the influ-

ence of Colonization is favorable to the success of Missions, to the progress of civilization, and of Christian piety. As witnesses, we show, in the colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia proper, Sierra Leone, and on the Gambia, more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. We show the fruits of their labors,—more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives, perfectly accessible to missionary labors. All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822. We show, as the result of the opposite system,* after nearly four centuries of experiment, and more than a century of Protestant experiment, a single station, with one missionary and perhaps one or two assistants, at Kaw Mendi, under the shadow of two colonies, and one mission which has retired from the field of our inquiries to Lower Guinea; neither of which has occupied its ground long enough to exert any appreciable influence in its vicinity, or even to ascertain the possibility of effecting a permanent establishment.†

We claim, therefore, that the question is decided; that the facts of the case, when once known, preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt. We claim that the combined action of Colonization and Missions is proved

* The Wesleyan mission, protected by British forts on the Gold Coast, does not belong to the opposite system.

† If missions should now prove successful beyond the limits of colonial jurisdiction, it would only prove that the beneficial influence of colonization is felt along the whole coast, and has rendered missionary success practicable, where it was formerly impracticable.

to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.

And who that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work? Need we, after all that has been said, appeal to sympathy? Need we here to repeat the catalogue of horrors from which Africa groans to be delivered? Need we mention the slave trade, devouring five hundred thousand of her children annually; her domestic slavery, crushing in its iron bondage more slaves than exist in the whole wide world besides; her ruthless despotisms, under which not even the infant sleeps securely;

her dark and cruel superstitions, soaking the graves of her despots with human blood; her rude palaces adorned with human skulls; her feasts, made horrid with human flesh? Shall not a work, and the only work which has proved itself able to grapple with and conquer these giant evils, be dear to every heart that loves either God or man? It must be so. The piety and philanthropy of Christendom cannot refrain from entering this open door, and transforming those dread abodes of wretchedness and sin, into habitations of Christian purity and peace and joy.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 23d April, to the 24th May, 1845.

MAINE.

Bath—Jonathan Hyde, Esq., to constitute Mr. Jon. A. Hyde, of Chesterville, and Mr. Edward C. Hyde, of Bangor, Me., life members of the American Colonization Society, \$60, Bath Colonization Society, per Jon. Hyde, Tr., \$58. \$118 00

VERMONT.

By Dea. Sam. Tracy: Donations:
Hartford—A. Hazen, Esq. 2 00
Norwich—Aaron Loveland, \$5, Dea. Asa Lord, and John Lord, \$1 each, D. B. Lord, 25 cents. 7 25
Post Mills—J. Pratt. 1 00
Bradford—Dea. S. Bliss, 25 cents, Mrs. Bliss, 10 cts., A. Stevens, Esq., 50 cents. 85
Newbury—Wm. Atchinson. 50
Wells River—T. Shed, Esq., \$2, A. Underwood, \$3. 5 00
Peacham—Dr. Shed, Hon. John Chandler, and Cash, each \$5, E. C. Chamberlain, Miss Chamberlain, Mrs. Strong, each \$1. 15 00
Danville—Hon. J. P. Dana, \$5, Hon. S. Sias, \$2, Seneca Ladd, 50 cents. 7 50
Wethersfield—Hon. Wm. Jarvis, \$10, Gen. Bowen, \$2, J. Haseal, \$5. 17 00
Saxton's River—Benja. Smith, \$5, H. Suke, jr., \$3. 8 00
Windham—Rev. S. R. Arms, \$1, W. H., 25 cents. 1 25

Townsend—Dea. Salisbury, 50 cts., W. B. Bunnell, \$1 50. 2 00
Westminster—Mrs. Ranney. 50
Putney—Capt. J. Hutchins. 1 00
Brattleboro—N. B. Williston, Hon. S. Clark, and G. C. Hall, each \$5, Rev. C. Walker, \$2, A. Van Doorn, \$3, Hon. S. Elliot, L. G. Mead, Esq., Maj. H. Smith, and Dr. Rockwell, each \$1. 24 00
95 85

NEW YORK.

New York Colonization Society—Per Moses Allen, Tr. 1,000 00
Albany—Daniel Fry, in part for L. M., \$10, Thos. McMullen, in part for L. M., \$10. 20 00
1,020 00

VIRGINIA.

King Geo. Co.—Younger Johnson, 10 00
KENTUCKY.

By the Rev. Alex. M. Cowan:
Fayette Co.—Wm. Rodes, Gen. James Shelby, F. Davis, R. C. Boggs, James Embry, and Hector P. Lewis, each \$30 to constitute themselves life members, H. J. Bodley, F. K. Hunt, and James Clark, each \$10, John R. Dunlap, Dr. Geo. B. Harrison, each \$5, D. C. Overturn, \$3, Elijah McClanahan, \$2, John Dunley, \$1, P. G. Hunt, 50cts. 226 50
Clark Co.—James Stonestreet, Geo. Anderson, Jacob Vanne-

ter, and Strander Goff, each \$20,	
Judge James Simpson, and R.	
C. Clark, Esq., each \$10, Dr.	
Thomas M. Taylor, \$5, A. M.	
Preston, \$4. L. Hampton, \$1.	110 00
Jessamine Co.—Daniel B. Price,	
\$20, Ellis Corn, and Thos. E.	
Wirt, ea. \$10, John Butler, and	
William Clark, each \$5.....	50 00
Shelby Co.—Joseph L. Fore, \$10,	
Miss Anna Allen, \$5, Gilbert	
Jarvis, \$2.....	17 00
	403 50

INDIANA.

Princeton—Mrs. Jane Kell, (of	
which \$30 is to constitute her	
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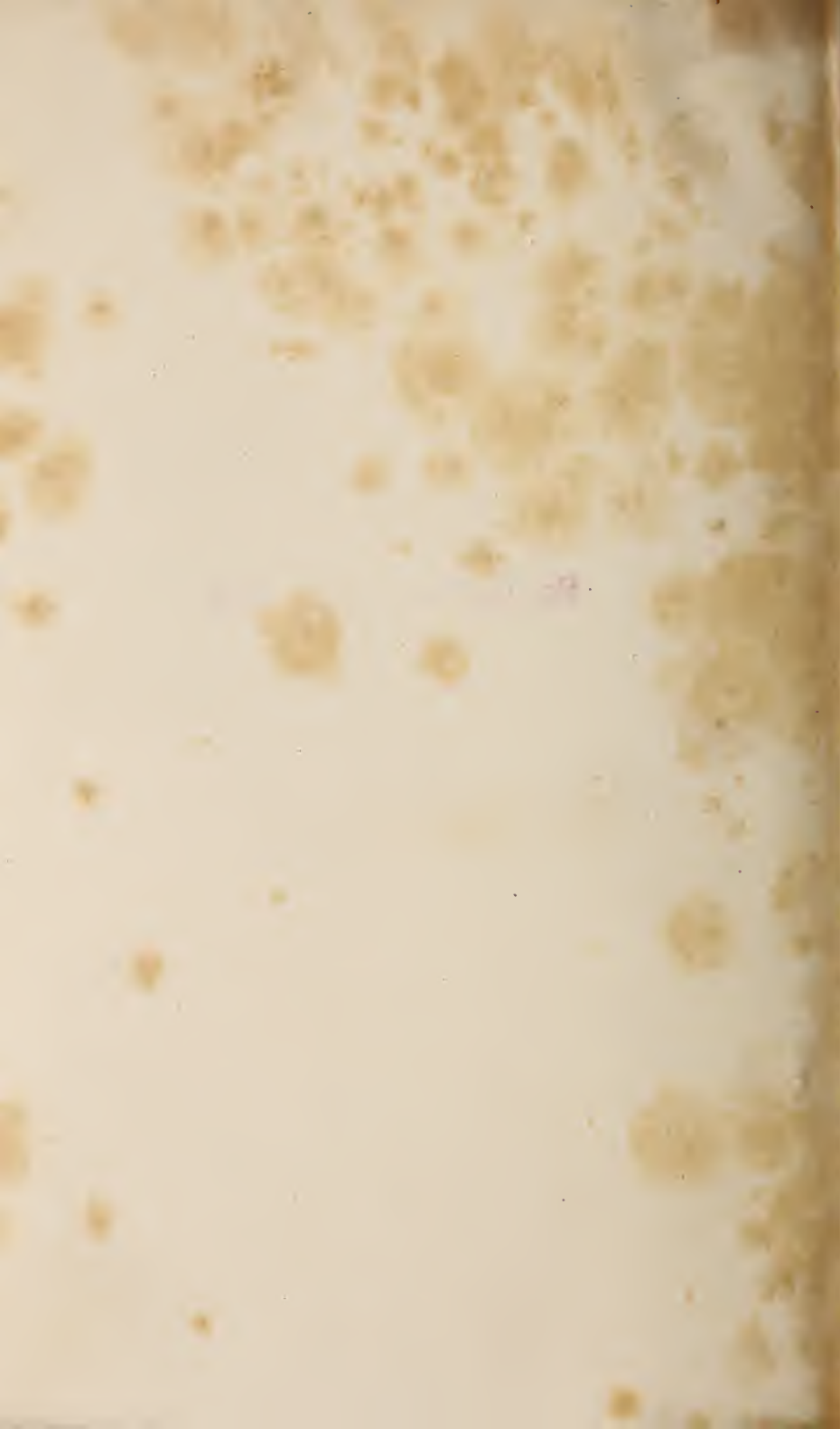
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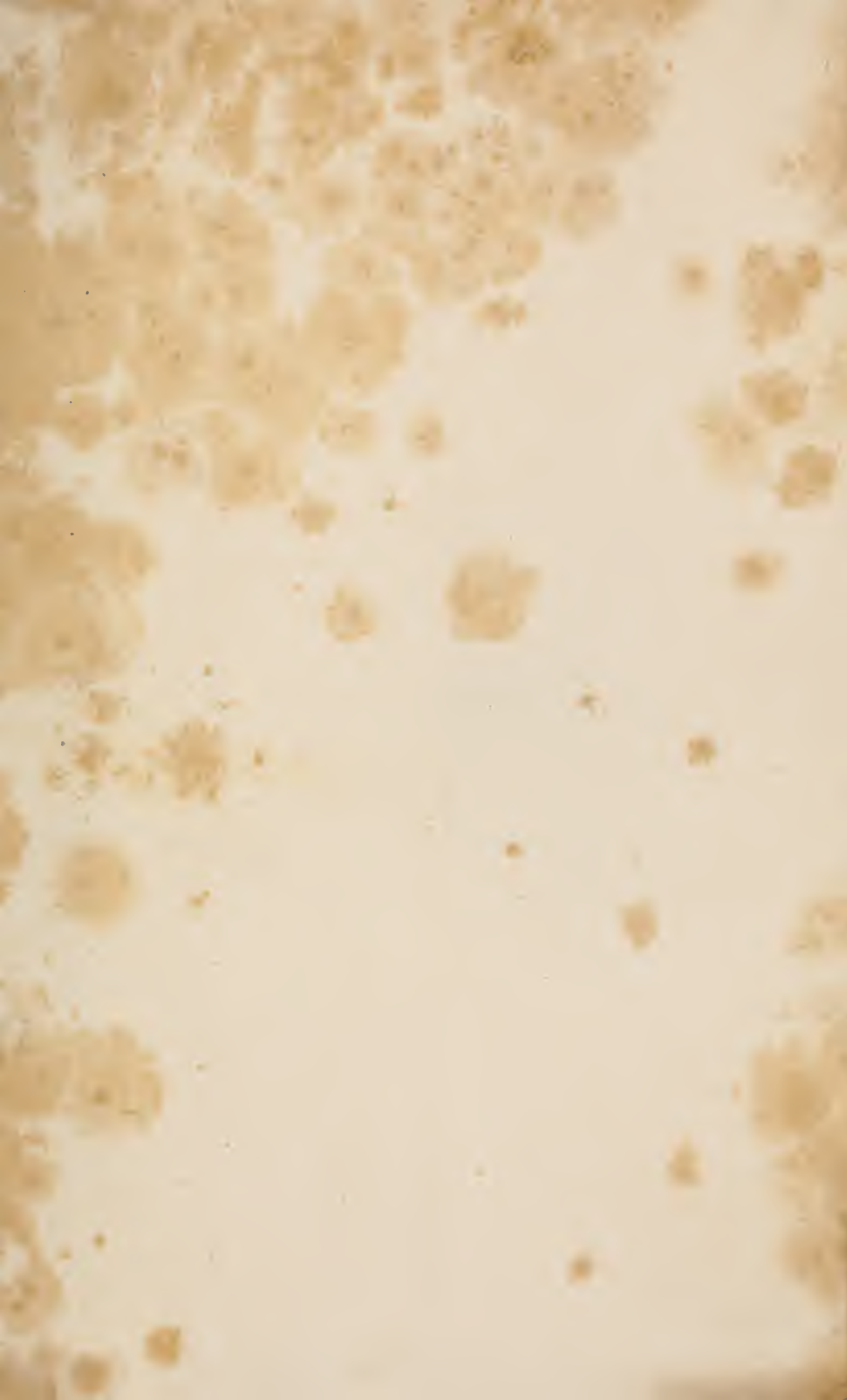
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